



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT OFFICES IN THE UNITED STATES AND GERMANY.

THE movement for the establishment of free public employment offices is of recent development; but it has already spread through eight or nine States in this country, has proceeded still further in France and England, and in Germany bids fair to displace altogether the private employment agencies. It is one phase of the general humanitarian movement, which has as its motive the welfare of the laboring classes, and of which factory legislation, tenement-house acts, a shorter working-day, and the like are the various manifestations. This spirit, at least, has made the establishment of such offices possible. In the United States the immediate motives leading to their establishment seem in some cases not to have been of such a high order. Here they have either been established as a protest against the abuses which grew up under the system of private intelligence offices, which had not been subjected to effective supervision on the part of the State or by the cities wherein they existed,* or they have been championed for purely political reasons, in order to win or conciliate the labor vote.†

The purpose underlying the movement needs but a word of explanation. The agencies are designed to bring employers and unemployed into communication with one another, and by a complete oversight over the labor market to secure the best possible adjustment of supply and demand at any given time. Though necessarily meeting local needs for the most part, their ideal is so to extend the sphere of their operations — in conjunction, it

* *E.g.*, Ohio and Illinois.

† *E.g.*, Montana and Nebraska, probably also New York.

may be, with other offices—that they can obtain the desired labor force from those districts where it is in excess and send it to those places where it is needed. To secure such results would call for the heartiest possible co-operation of employers and working people, almost universal resort to the employment bureau as the agency to effect the adjustment of the labor market, and, finally, a wide field of operations. While hardly one of these conditions has been met in the United States, the offices established show vitality and encouraging growth. Manifestly, however, such offices cannot initiate employment; and those who expect that through them work is to be obtained for the unemployed by mere registration will inevitably be disappointed.

The plan of free intelligence offices, or offices maintained under State control for the registration of persons desiring employment, finds its fullest expression in France.* There the establishment of such offices seems to have resulted from the methods of dealing with persons out of employment which were adopted after the abolition of the feudal system, and which have finally developed into the institutions now existing. The first practical plan for organizing *bourses du travail* appeared in 1848, when the Provisional Government established a free information bureau in each of the *mairies* of Paris. Though unsuccessful at the time, the plan was revived in 1886; and several municipalities established free registry offices, chiefly as a protest against the evils of the private offices. Notwithstanding the establishment of these municipal registries, however, and the work of the trade unions, the licensed employment offices still remain the most extensive agencies in France for placing unemployed work-people.

In England the first office of this kind was opened at

* *Le Placement des Employés, Ouvriers, et Domestiques en France*. Published by the Office du Travail.

Egham in 1885.* The bureau is managed by the local superintendent of births, deaths, and marriages, who adds this to his other duties. A dozen similar offices have been established in other cities and towns throughout Great Britain. Switzerland was the next country to follow suit, with the establishment of a free employment bureau in Berne in 1888 and of one in Basle the year following.† In Germany free agencies for the purpose of securing work for the unemployed have existed for a considerable time, either of a charitable nature or in connection with the institutions for the suppression of vagrancy.‡ The first free public employment office, in the sense in which we shall use the term, was established in Freiburg in 1892. For the United States, Ohio has the honor of having established the first free public agency, in 1890,—an example which was not imitated until 1895 by any other State.

I. THE UNITED STATES.

From the recentness of the movement for the establishment of these offices, it is evident that other attempts must have been made to secure the registration of the unemployed and the equilibration of the labor market. The most important of these agencies in the United States are the private intelligence offices; and it is to a consideration of these that we must, therefore, first address ourselves before we can fully understand either the need of or the demand for offices conducted under the control of the State.

Private employment agencies exist in almost every city of the Union, but no systematic canvass has ever been attempted to ascertain their number or the extent of their

* *Agencies and Methods for Dealing with the Unemployed*. Published by the Labor Department of the English Board of Trade, 1893.

† R. Calwer, *Arbeitsmarkt und Arbeitsnachweis*, Stuttgart, 1899, p. 32.

‡ *Special Consular Reports: Vagrancy and Public Charities in Foreign Countries*, Washington, 1893, p. 292 *et seq.*

business. However, from some scattered data in the reports of several of the State bureaus of labor statistics, it has been possible to compile a few figures which are of interest, and may be considered typical of all. These show the number of private agencies in a few cities, and the number of applicants and the estimated receipts; but none of these statistics can be considered accurate, many of the returns being confessedly only estimates. In Boston there were 119 private employment agencies in 1893, and reports from 87 of them showed 600,934 applicants for employment, of whom 128,912, or 21.45 per cent., secured positions. At the minimum charge of 50 cents apiece, this would yield the offices over \$300,000 a year.* Commissioner Hall gives figures for St. Louis and Kansas City, which, he thinks, represent about 40 per cent. of the business done in these two cities. In St. Louis there were 6,032 applications for employment in seven women's agencies, and 5,626 positions secured. The admitted receipts, which Mr. Hall thinks about half of what was in fact received, were \$3,198. Six other agencies found work for 20,800 out of 106,600 applicants. Their receipts are estimated at \$100,000. The Kansas City agencies were only a little behind this, as the following figures show:—

<i>No. Agencies.</i>	<i>No. Applications.</i>	<i>Positions filled.</i>	<i>Receipts from Fees.</i>
8 (for men)	64,740	43,672	\$64,464
4 (for women)	22,711	3,835	6,103

Commissioner Hall estimates that the \$70,567 admitted receipts were less than one-half the amount actually taken in.†

There were 119 licensed agencies in Chicago in 1896, at which it is estimated that not less than 1,000,000 persons applied for employment during the year. At the minimum

* *Twenty-fourth Annual Report of Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor*, 1893, p. 111.

† *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics and Inspection of Missouri*, 1892.

charge of \$1 apiece this would give an annual income of \$1,000,000.* In California 69 well-equipped private employment agencies are reported to exist, whose cost of maintenance alone is estimated at \$206,700 a year.† Twenty-one private agencies are reported from Colorado, most of them being situated in Denver.

Inadequate as these figures are, they yet serve in some degree to show the extent of the business done by the employment agencies of the country, and give an idea of the vast sums that are paid annually by the unemployed for the purpose of securing employment. That these agencies meet a real want seems not open to doubt. But the further question as to how well they fill it and with what advantage to the unemployed is not so certainly to be answered in their favor. In fact, one of the strongest arguments in favor of the establishment of free public employment offices rests on the abuses which exist in the private agencies. This point is made much of by the commissioners of labor in the various States, and their reports contain many instances of the deception and fraud practised by these agencies on the unemployed. While they are naturally interested in making out as strong a case as possible against the "pay" agencies, and though a large number of these are of the highest possible character, there is still without doubt a large class which merely preys on the unemployed and takes advantage of their need.

The least of the abuses which are perpetrated is the universal practice of accepting a fee, whether there is prospect of finding a position or not, and of refusing to refund it when a position is not secured.‡ No pay agency

* *Tenth Biennial Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of Illinois*, 1898, p. 133.

† *Seventh Biennial Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of California*, 1895-96, p. 52.

‡ The laws of a number of States require that the fee be refunded, if employment is not secured. See Table, p. 348.

will ever admit that the labor market is overstocked.* Worse than this is the practice of advertising for laborers to undertake work in distant cities, and of sending them to fill purely fictitious openings after accepting their fees.† In the case of some of the more dishonest agencies there is an agreement between a foreman and an agency, according to which men sent by the agency are employed, but only for a few days, and then discharged to make way for others. The fees are divided between the agent and the foreman.‡ An additional refinement, which is reported from New York, consists in an illicit connection of employment agencies with alleged employers, who refer an applicant to a guarantee agency, which is also in the league, and which exacts another fee for looking up the references.§ It is a not uncommon plan to have the employment agency located in the rear of a dram-shop, which the men, who are purposely kept waiting in the hope of securing a position, will unfailingly patronize.

Many of the abuses complained of here are largely the result of inadequate supervision and control of the agencies in their dealings with an ignorant and needy class of persons, easily victimized and slow to seek redress. To regulate these evils of the private employment offices, a few of the States have therefore required them to pay licenses or give bonds, or both. Colorado, Illinois, Maine, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, and Washington compel all employment offices to pay an annual license fee, ranging from \$1 in Maine to \$200 in Illinois. In Louisiana and the cities of New York and Brooklyn a license must be obtained in order to do business; but no payment is required.|| Five of the States — Colorado, Illinois, Loui-

* "Fraudulent Advertisement of Lucrative Employment," by P. G. Hubert, Jr., *Lippincott's Magazine*, vol. liv. p. 657.

† *Illinois Report*, 1898, p. 133.

‡ *California Report*, 1896, p. 56.

§ *Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor Statistics*, December, 1899, p. 155.

|| A bill of this sort is now before the New York legislature (Assembly Bill, No. 361, January 22, 1900).

siana, Minnesota, and Wisconsin — place the managers of all private agencies under heavy bonds; and all of the States named also provide penalties for infringement of the law. Most of them, too, regulate the charges which the agencies can make, providing that no fee shall be charged unless a *bona fide* position is secured for the applicant. The table on the following page presents the existing legislation on these points.

Free employment agencies, as private or quasi-public institutions, already exist in large numbers throughout the United States, especially in the large cities. Many of the charity organization societies maintain employment bureaus incidentally to their work of relief, and sometimes, as in Minneapolis, Brooklyn, and Baltimore, independently thereof. In the two last-named cities this work grew to such proportions as to threaten to overshadow the more legitimate work of the society, and was therefore suspended except for destitute cases.* Many churches have employment features, as do also the Young Men's Christian Associations, Young Women's Christian Associations,† social settlements.‡ The Salvation Army has paid much attention to this phase of its many-sided work, more so in England than in this country, however. Most of the trades-unions have this feature more or less developed, restricted usually, however, to the trades interested. In Chicago at least two department stores have conducted employment bureaus, free to their customers, for female domestic servants. In Boston there are fourteen free employment bureaus connected with religious, philanthropic, medical, and other institutions.§ In New York || among

* *Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction*, Toronto, 1897, p. 211.

† *E.g.*, Y. W. C. A. and Women's Exchange of St. Louis. *Missouri Report*, 1892.

‡ *E.g.*, Hull House at one time did so. *Illinois Report*, 1898, p. 135.

§ *Massachusetts Report*, 1893, pp. 81-114.

|| *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of New York*, 1896, p. 923.

PROVISIONS OF LAWS REGULATING PRIVATE EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES.*

STATE.	Private employment agencies must have license.	Amount of license.	Private employment agencies must give bond.	Amount of bond.	Fines for infringement of law.	Payment and amount of fee regulated.
Colorado (1891) . . .	Municipal	\$100 an.	Municipal	\$2,000	\$100	Men, 5% of one month's wages Women, 3% of one month's wages
Illinois (1899) . . .	State	200 an.	State	1,000	50-100	
Louisiana (1894) . .	Permission of mayor	—	Municipal	5,000	25	
Maine (1895 and 1899)	Municipal	1 an.	—	—	50	No fee unless position
Massachusetts (1894)	Municipal	1 an.	—	—	50-100	No fee unless position
Minnesota (1899) . .	Municipal	100	Municipal	10,000	100	No fee unless position
Missouri (1899) . . .	—	—	—	—	—	No fee unless position **
New Jersey (1893) . .	Licensing, bonding, regulating amount of fee, etc., left to common councils of each city in the State					
New York (1891) . . .	Permission of mayor	†	†	—	50	No fee unless position **
Pennsylvania (1895) .	Municipal	50 an.	—	—	100	
Rhode Island (1896) .	Town councils may license and exact fee			—	10	
Washington (1897) ††	Municipal	\$100 an.				
Wisconsin (1899) †† .	Municipal	—	Municipal	1,000		

* Labor Laws of the United States. *Second Special Report of the United States Department of Labor*. Revised edition, 1896. *Annual Bulletin of Legislation in the States*. Published by the University of the State of New York. Laws of the States.

† Must give evidence of good character. Relates only to cities of New York and Brooklyn.

‡ Permission given common councils to require bond.

§ In Maine no fee over \$1 can be retained unless position is secured. \$1 two sureties are required.

** Refusal to refund fee is a misdemeanor.

†† Agencies conducted by women for employment of women only are excepted.

many are the Bible House, the Working-girls' Alliance, St. Bartholomew's Guild,* the Cooper Union Labor Bureau, conducted since 1895 by the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor. Perhaps the assistance given the unemployed by many newspapers through the free insertion of want advertisements should be mentioned, since this method of seeking work often takes the place of a resort to the employment office.

Numerous as the free private or philanthropic agencies were in the United States, the stigma of charity attached to their work; and the best class of employees were not to be found on their lists. To meet this objection and at the same time secure their advantages, the next step was accordingly the establishment of free *public* employment offices; and to a consideration of these we may now turn. We shall take up the various States in the chronological order of the establishment of such offices by them.

Ohio.† — Ohio was the first and for a long time the only State to maintain free public employment agencies. The act establishing them was passed April 28, 1890, and was amended the following year, March 24, 1891. It created five free employment offices as adjuncts to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and placed the appointment of the superintendents and clerks of the offices in the hands of the labor commissioner. The salaries of the officers were to be borne by the cities within which the offices were organized, but the general expenses were to be defrayed by the State. Each superintendent should make a weekly report

* *Year Book*, 1899, p. 295.

† *Reports of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of Ohio*, 1890-99.

The movement in Ohio was due directly to the example of France. Mr. A. W. J. Lewis, later commissioner in charge of the Ohio Bureau of Labor Statistics, was one of a group of labor representatives who attended the Paris Exposition of 1889; and what he there saw of the great public offices led him to advocate their establishment in his State. See the *Report of the Minnesota Bureau of Labor Statistics*, 1891-92.

to the commissioner, and lists of applications in each office should be sent weekly to every other office and there posted. The amendment of 1891 limited the tenure of office for all superintendents and clerks to two years. Since that time no further change in the law has been made.

Offices were opened during the summer of 1890 in the five leading cities of the State,— Toledo, Cleveland, Dayton, Cincinnati, Columbus. The success of these offices was marked from the start. For the first six months the applications for employment amounted to over 20,000, for nearly half of whom positions were secured. Perhaps the most striking testimonial to their success is to be found in the fact that, while there were at least twelve well-known private employment agencies in these cities at the time of the establishment of the public offices, the commissioner of labor reported in 1892 that they no longer existed in Columbus, Toledo, and Dayton, while only a few "still managed to exist" in Cleveland and Cincinnati. The facilities of the offices seem to have been made very general use of by employers, the applications for help sometimes outnumbering the applications for employment, especially in domestic service. The superintendents of the offices, reporting on this point in 1891, stated that employers generally favored the establishment of the offices, and that the working people were unanimous in their approval. Two of the superintendents, however, reported that manufacturers denied any need of such a bureau, since so many applications for employment were made directly at the factories. While this is true in general of skilled labor, it is of course less true of unskilled labor, and not at all the case with domestic and personal help. The activities of the offices are, therefore, particularly marked in the latter field.

The reports of the offices show a fairly steady growth from year to year, in spite of the depression of 1893, and

give evidence that the bureaus are filling a real want. While the number of applications for employment on the part of men has not changed materially, the applications for male employees and the number of positions filled has steadily decreased. On the other hand, the number of women dealt with, especially domestic servants, has grown continuously, seeming to indicate that the bureaus are becoming more or less "intelligence" offices of the familiar type for the registration of servants. There seems to be no desire in the State to abolish the offices, but the annual reports of the labor commissioner reiterate the demand for certain changes in the law which shall place them on a firmer basis. Objection is made to the provision which places the payment of the salaries of the superintendents and clerks upon the cities within which the bureaus are situated, partly on the ground that they are at the mercy of municipal politicians.*

Montana.†—The second State to establish free public employment offices by legislative enactment was Montana. An act providing for the establishment of a free employment bureau at the capital of the State was passed on February 25, 1895. The act as passed was an amendment to the law creating the Bureau of Labor.‡ The duties of the office were limited to recording applications

* Returns of five Ohio offices for selected years,

	1890.		1893.		1896.		1899.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Applications for employment	14,529	5,607	14,169	12,685	12,668	15,030	15,259	10,886
Applications for help . . .	11,453	6,701	5,826	11,403	3,078	12,632	6,216	17,681
Positions secured	5,575	3,413	4,566	8,635	2,781	10,164	5,058	9,931

† *Reports of the Bureau of Agriculture, Labor, and Industry of Montana*, 1894-97.

‡ *Montana Codes and Statutes*, 1895, Part III., § 765.

“in a book” and bringing employers and employees into communication with each other by the use of the mails. A small appropriation was added for clerical services, but no direct provision was made for other expenses of the office. Honest efforts seem to have been made to carry out the purpose of the act, and employers were notified of its existence by circular letter, notices in the newspapers, and poster advertisements; but the law soon showed its fundamental defects. The necessity of summoning and interviewing applicants was placed upon the employers. Thus the very feature which most commends such an institution to the employers of labor, that of securing without delay the desired help, was absent. At best the establishment of the office was premature; for the population is as yet too small to require its services, especially as situated in Helena. Moreover, many of the railroad and mining companies and other enterprises have their own employing offices, to which the men out of work make direct application. Owing to these and other reasons the work of the office did not show satisfactory results; and it was finally discontinued March 6, 1897. The act repealing the law which established the office provided that any municipality might organize such offices, but that the city should bear the expense. Thus far no city in the State has availed itself of the permission.

*New York.**—The third State in the Union to create free public employment offices by law was New York, by the act of May 25, 1896, which provided for the establishment of such offices in New York City and Buffalo. Owing to the crude provisions of this measure, which required, among other things, the sending of a weekly list of all applicants for employment or help to each of the 1,168 supervisors of townships in the State, it was re-

* *Reports of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of New York, 1896-98; and Bulletin of the Bureau, September and December, 1899.*

pealed in the following year, and replaced by the substitute act of May 13, 1897.

This act of 1897 provided for the establishment of free public employment bureaus in cities of the first class; namely, New York and Buffalo. Up to the present time, however, no appropriation has been made for the work in the latter city.* An annual appropriation of \$5,000 was made for the New York office; and the appointment of superintendent and clerks was placed in the hands of the commissioner of labor, under civil service regulations. All applicants are required to fill out statistical blanks, giving information as to age, nationality, occupation, wages, cause of idleness, references, etc. In addition to this information a confidential letter of inquiry is sent to the last employer of every applicant for employment, requesting testimony as to character and ability, the response being filed with the application. These letters are answered very generally and apparently truthfully. Not only are the interests of the employers thus safeguarded, but those of the employees also, by requiring, in cases where help is wanted out of town, that the railroad fare shall be paid to the destination, and that the employer shall meet the employee at the end of the journey.

The statistical information gathered on the blanks which are filled out in the office is tabulated and published in the annual reports of the bureau of labor. The statistics of the number of applicants show a decrease after the first few months. This was largely due to the exaggerated expectations that were entertained at the time the office was opened as to its ability to obtain work for all applicants. Since then the number of applications has decreased, while the number of positions secured has increased. In one occupation the demand has continually outrun the supply, — domestic service, and more particularly general house-

* I am informed that this will probably be done at the present session of the legislature.

work. The activities of the bureau are now confined almost exclusively to this department.*

Nebraska.—A free employment department of the State Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics was created by the act of April 13, 1897. The law is almost identical with that previously passed by Montana, on which it is evidently modelled. In accordance with this law the department was opened on May 1, 1897; and, though its success has been very meagre, it has continued to exist up to the present time.†

The same difficulties that resulted in the abolishment of the Montana office have shown themselves in Nebraska. The office should have been established in the industrial centre of the State, at Omaha; and, if an office were desired at Lincoln, it should be in the business section of the city, and not at the State capitol. The experience

* The work of the New York office from its establishment on July 20 1896, to January 1, 1900, is shown in the following table:—

	1896.†			1897.		
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.
Applications for employment	6,458	1,582	8,040	3,996	3,319	7,315
Applications for help. . . .	332	616	948	418	1,624	2,052
Situations secured	‡	‡	444	378	1,127	1,505

	1898.			1899.		
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.
Applications for employment	2,487	2,613	5,100	‡	‡	5,28
Applications for help. . . .	302	2,344	2,646	‡	‡	3,043
Situations secured	‡	‡	2,000	‡	‡	2,401

† July 20 to December 31, 1896.

‡ Not specified.

§ See the *Sixth Biennial Report of the Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics*, 1897-98, p. 1186.

in both Nebraska and Montana shows plainly, also, that the functions of a free employment agency should be kept entirely distinct from those of the Bureau of Labor, so far at least as concerns its immediate and primary object.*

Illinois.—The fifth State to establish free public employment agencies by law was Illinois, which provided for their creation in all cities of fifty thousand population or over by an act approved April 11, 1899. Three offices were accordingly opened in Chicago on July 31,—one on the North Side, one on the South Side, and the third on the West Side of the city. The law provides for the appointment for two years of a man superintendent at a salary of \$1,200, and of a woman assistant at not more than \$900 per annum. All expenses of the office are to be defrayed by the State. Weekly lists, showing the number and character of all applicants for positions and for help, are to be sent by each office to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and a complete list to be mailed weekly from that bureau to each free employment office, to each State inspector of factories, and each State inspector of mines. And it is made the duty of these officials to assist in securing employment for such applicants, and to notify the superintendents of the employment offices of all vacancies that come to their notice. Superintendents of the free offices are, furthermore, empowered to spend not more than \$400 a year in advertising for positions. The Illinois law further contains a strike clause, which, as it does not appear in the laws of any other State, deserves to be quoted in full.†

* See the *Sixth Report of the Bureau*, 1897-98, p. 1186. None the less, the commissioner, in a letter to the writer, under date of December 18, 1899, writes enthusiastically of the results and outlook.

† “In no case shall the superintendent of any free employment office created by this act furnish or cause to be furnished workmen or other employés to any applicant for help whose employés are at that time on strike or locked out; nor shall any list of names and addresses of applicants for employment

In order to control and limit the number of private employment agencies, the law provides that all such agencies must pay a State license fee of \$200 a year and give a bond of \$1,000 "for the faithful performance of the duties of private employment agent." Previous to 1896 the payment of a municipal license fee of \$100 per annum was required in Chicago, but in that year the ordinance was abolished. During the last year (1896) in which any record was kept, 196 licenses were issued. Since the passage of the new law, no figures are available to show the number of private agencies now in the city.

The provisions for the collection of statistical data and for registration of applicants are more elaborate than in any other office. Every applicant for employment must fill out a list of some thirty questions, as to age, sex, nationality, conjugal condition, religion, length of residence, number of children, literacy, occupation, affiliations, cause of idleness, wages, health, references. Applicants for help are permitted to fill out a less formidable list. As in New York, and in identically the terms used there, a confidential letter is sent in each case to the last employer of every applicant for employment, requesting information as to character, sobriety, and obedience. When a call for help is made at the office, a suitable applicant is at once notified of the position by a reply postal, and is requested to use the return card to inform the office whether employment is secured. At the same time a note is sent to the prospective employer, notifying him who has been sent, and enclosing a postal card to be used in notifying the office, on his part, whether he has engaged the applicant sent him. In this way the closest possible control is maintained.

The Illinois law, as it is the latest, so it is one of the

be shown to any employer whose employés are on strike or locked out; nor shall such list be exposed where it can be copied or used by an employer whose employés are on strike or locked out." *Labor Laws of the State of Illinois*, 1899, p. 23, § 8.

best in this country for the establishment of free public employment offices. That some regulation of the private agencies in Chicago was needed, the accounts of their methods, in the newspapers and elsewhere, leave little doubt; while the results of the State free offices during the first four and one-half months of their existence seem to show that they are filling a real need and meeting with real success. An analysis of their work during this time shows that the men greatly outnumber the women,—in contrast with New York,—and that, while of course the great majority of positions secured are for unskilled labor, a wide variety of occupations is covered. Among the women, domestic servants constitute from a third to a half.*

Missouri.† — In 1891 Labor Commissioner Hall of Missouri visited the Ohio free public employment offices, and, in a highly commendatory review of their work in his report for 1892, advocated the establishment of similar offices at St. Louis and Kansas City. The Knights of Labor, in general assembly at St. Louis in November, 1892, also strongly indorsed the suggestion. A bill was accordingly introduced, embodying in the main the "Ohio idea," but failed to pass the legislature. In 1897 Commissioner Rozelle determined to carry out the plan without waiting for legislative enactment. Finding that the offices and clerical force of the factory inspector in St. Louis could be used for this purpose, he opened a free employment department in their rooms on October 4, 1897, as an adjunct to the Labor Bureau, and without additional expense to the State.

A fairly detailed system of registration is maintained,

*The report of their work from July 31 to December 16, 1899, is as follows:—

Applications for employment	24,984
Applications for help	19,198
Positions secured	14,851

† *Annual Reports of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of Missouri*, 1892, 1897, 1898, 1899.

applicants for help as well as applicants for employment being required to fill out blanks similar to those used in the California office * (to be described presently). "Whenever applications for help are received, a number of parties making application for such a position are notified by postal card, and given the address of the applicant for help. In this way the unemployed and the employer are brought together with little difficulty." † This system is similar to the Illinois plan, but not so commendable as that of California. In the *Twentieth Annual Report of the Labor Bureau* the commissioner writes: "Not the least service rendered the public by the establishment of the State free employment department has been the decimation of the fraudulent 'employment agencies,' so called, especially in St. Louis. Where sixteen of these concerns were said to exist only a year ago, only four are now to be found."

The work of the office in St. Louis was so successful that the legislature was finally induced to sanction its maintenance by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. On May 23, 1899, a law was passed providing for the establishment of free public employment bureaus in cities of a hundred thousand inhabitants or over. ‡ In accordance with this act the office at St. Louis was continued, and an additional one opened at Kansas City on December 18, 1899. § The number of positions secured during the same period is estimated at 800. The work of the St. Louis office is given in more detail in the following figures:—

* See below.

† *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics*, 1897, p. 489.

‡ *Laws of Missouri*, 1899, p. 272.

§ During the first eight weeks of its existence the Kansas City office received 2,518 applications for employment and 800 individual applications for help, each of these orders numbering from 25 down to 1 person. (Letter from Superintendent Howard to the writer, February 12, 1900.)

	Oct. 4, 1897, to Oct. 1, 1898.			Oct. 1, 1898, to Oct. 1, 1899.		
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.
Applications for employment	5,680	2,103	7,783	3,933	916	4,849
Applications for help . . .				2,119	1,072	3,191
Situations secured			4,661	1,647	671	2,318

California.—Free public employment offices have been opened in two States, besides Missouri, by the Bureaus of Labor, without waiting for legislative action. These are California and Iowa. In California a free employment department was opened in San Francisco by the Bureau of Labor Statistics on July 15, 1895, and for nine months was carried on under the regular appropriations at the office of the bureau. At the end of that time private subscriptions amounting to \$970, which were raised among the business men of the city by the trades-unions, permitted the removal of the office to better quarters.

According to the report of the commissioner, "the main feature leading to the ultimate success of the undertaking was the selection of only reliable help for the employer; and for this purpose it was necessary to establish a system by which the applicant for work could be followed from the time he was found a position to the time when he again sought assistance at the bureau." * Each employer was required to fill out a blank specifying the number and sex of employees wanted, the kind of work, wages, and preferences as to age, nationality, and the like. Applicants for employment were required to fill out blanks, giving name, address, occupation, years of experience, wages expected, residence in State, nationality, literacy, conjugal condition, number in family, reasons for unemployment, and references. The data contained in these applications were entered in separate books kept for the

* *Seventh Biennial Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of California*, 1895-96, p. 19. Detailed tabular information is given in this report.

purpose. In addition, each applicant for employment who was sent to fill a position was given an employment card, stating his name and prospective occupation and wages. He was also given two postal cards to be delivered to his employer, one of which was to be used by the latter in notifying the department of the engagement of the applicant, and the other of his eventual discharge and the reason therefor.

During the first year of its existence, from July 15, 1895, to Aug. 1, 1896, 18,920 applications for employment were received, of which 14,251 were from men, and 4,669 from women. Of this number, 5,845 secured positions, 3,314 being men and 2,531 women. Out of the 5,845 persons furnished with positions, less than 30 had been reported on adversely. In spite of this promising beginning and in the face of potent arguments for the continuance of the work thus begun, the department was discontinued after a year.*

Iowa.† — Soon after the establishment of the Ohio free employment offices, agitation was begun in Iowa for the enactment of a law creating similar offices in that State. A bill drawn up by Labor Commissioner Sovereign and identical with the law subsequently passed in Montana — which was copied after this one — was introduced, but failed of passage. In 1894 another bill was introduced, providing for the establishment of free employment offices throughout the State; but this, too, failed to pass. A distinctly novel feature of the bill was the provision that the commissioner of labor and the county auditors should all establish free employment bureaus, or, rather, bureaus for the publication of lists of applicants in con-

*The labor commissioner, in a letter of October 13, 1899, says: "Such agencies are no longer maintained, as the legislature made no appropriation therefor; and, while a bill was drafted providing for the maintenance of free employment agencies under the supervision of this bureau, it failed of passage. And since then nothing has been done in the way of maintaining such agencies."

† *Fifth and Sixth Biennial Reports of the Bureau of Labor Statistics.*

nection with their offices. After the failure of the bill and the adjournment of the legislature, the commissioner of labor decided to test the practical utility of such a measure, and secured the voluntary co-operation of a majority of the county auditors in the State for the establishment of such offices as were contemplated in the proposed bill. But the plan met with no response from employers, and was soon given up.*

Washington.†—In the city of Seattle, Washington, there was established in April, 1894, a municipal free employment bureau, the only one of its kind in the United States. Originally created as an adjunct to the municipal office of labor statistics, it was later made a part of the Civil Service Department of the city on the adoption of a new city charter in the spring of 1895. The secretary of the Civil Service Commission assumed the office of labor commissioner, and has devoted a part of his time to the conduct of the employment bureau. The success of the bureau has been marked; and the increasing demands made upon it necessitated the appointment in 1897 of an assistant, a woman, who has charge of the woman's department, and in the following year the appointment of an additional clerk. The expansion of the work has also necessitated two removals of the office, each time to more commodious quarters.

The conditions of the labor market in Washington seemed to require the establishment of an employment bureau which should cover the whole field more completely than was possible for the private employment agencies. Situated as it is, Seattle is the outlet of streams of transient laborers on the way to Alaska and other points in

* *Sixth Biennial Report*, p. 14. Commissioner O'Brien writes: "From some cause or other, it did not meet with success. The bureau was maintained for five months; and during that time, although applications for situations were numerous, the commissioner was unable to secure work for a single applicant, and abandoned the attempt."

† *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Labor of Seattle, Washington*, 1894-99.

the North-west. Many of the industries, too, which are carried on in the State, are of a seasonal and variable character, such as hop-picking, fishing, logging, railroad work, calling for constant readjustment and redistribution of the labor force. This fact is very clearly seen in the statistics of the work done by the bureau, in which I have separated the hop-pickers and railroad laborers from the other applicants. Of course, this extension of the business of the bureau would not have been possible without the co-operation of the employers of labor; and in this regard Commissioner Grout seems to have been particularly successful, as practically all labor for the railroads and the hop-fields in the State is obtained through the agency of the municipal office.

In the administration of the bureau the commissioner has sacrificed the statistical part of the work, with the accompaniments of detailed registration, to the more practical end of securing speedy employment for all applicants. Accordingly, no figures are given of the number of applications for positions or for help, but only of positions filled. The number of persons for whom work has been secured, even after eliminating the most fluctuating elements, shows a very steady growth. Although a municipal office, its usefulness is not limited to the city, applications for labor having been received from almost every town in the State, and from Alaska, British Columbia, Oregon, Montana, and Idaho. An analysis of the positions filled during 1898 showed that about 63 per cent. were of "common, unskilled labor," 30 per cent. "vocations requiring some knowledge or skill," while only about 7 per cent. represented skilled trades.* This last figure was doubled the following year, but the work of the bureau has been largely confined to the class of unskilled labor. About nine-tenths of these positions are out of the city. Private employment agencies seem to have been largely displaced

* *Fifth Annual Report*, 1898.

by the municipal bureau; and the number of these, though fluctuating, was reduced to seven at the end of 1899. All private agencies are required to secure a license from the city and pay an annual fee of \$100.*

In addition to the States where the experiment has actually been tried, the establishment of free public employment offices has been agitated in a few others. At the National Convention of the Officials of the Bureaus of Labor Statistics, held in Denver, 1892, the question of employment bureaus was discussed and the following resolution passed: "*Resolved*, That the commissioners of labor of the different States recommend to the legislatures of their respective States the advisability of creating free public employment offices, under State control and supervision." This was apparently not done by all the commissioners, and by some only in a perfunctory way, so that little result was obtained. Following the lead of Ohio, agitation for the establishment of similar offices was begun in Michigan in 1896 by the organization in Grand Rapids of a committee of sixty prominent citizens to consider the matter. This committee advo-

*The following figures show the work done by the bureau from April 1, 1894, to January 1, 1900:—

SEATTLE: POSITIONS FURNISHED.

YEAR.	1894.†	1895.	1896.	1897.	1898.	1899.
Total	2,623	3,729	3,268	5,952	13,871	18,153
Hop-pickers . .	1,144	2,050	135	2,890	2,235	2,682
Railroad laborers	‡	1,311 §	571 §	2,784	7,077	2,102
Grand total . .	3,967	5,779	3,403	11,626	24,183	22,837
Total expenses .	\$909.65	\$1,120.00	\$727.50	\$724.80	\$1,377.13	\$1,136.66
Cost of each position furnished	\$0.2293	\$0.1938	\$0.2138	\$0.0624	\$0.0569	\$0.05

† Nine months.

‡ Not specified.

§ General laborers included in totals above. Office did not act as agent for the railroads before 1897.

|| Almost total failure of harvest.

cated the scheme and even drew up a plan for the establishment of a municipal bureau, but unexpectedly met with opposition from the labor unions, which feared that such an office might be used against them in case of strikes.* The plan was therefore given up. The establishment of such offices has also been under consideration in Massachusetts, Minnesota, New Jersey, and Colorado.†

The account thus far given of free public employment offices in the United States, taken largely from the reports of the offices themselves, has not been a very encouraging one. Not even the most ardent advocate of their extension would contend that they have been attended with striking success. Of the nine States in which their establishment has been attempted, they have been given up in three,—Montana, Iowa, and California,—while in Nebraska the office is struggling along with very unsatisfactory results. In these cases the establishment of the bureaus seems to have been premature and not called for by the needs of the community (except perhaps in California), but to have been advocated or created by the politicians as a sop to the laboring classes.‡ In only five States — namely, Ohio, New York, Missouri, Illinois, and Washington — is there such an increase in the number of applications and positions secured as to indicate a steady growth in usefulness. The municipal office at Seattle appears to have met with success a real want in the community where it is located, and to have enlisted most fully the co-operation of both employers and employees. But one of the main elements in its success is the fact that it

* Letter from A. O. Crozier, chairman Committee of Sixty, November 7, 1899.

† *Massachusetts Report*, 1893, p. 58; *Minnesota Report*, 1892; *New Jersey Report*, 1895, p. 117. Cf. *Lend a Hand*, vol. xii. p. 133.

‡ The commissioner of the Montana bureau, in a letter to the writer, ascribes the failure of the office in that State to the dislike of it as a Populist measure.

has had to deal largely with unskilled labor. So far, at least, the offices have been used very little by members of skilled or well-organized trades; and their representatives seem to think it doubtful if they ever will be. An analysis of the occupations of those applying for employment, particularly in the large cities, shows that the majority of the men are unskilled laborers; and another large portion may properly be classed under the head of domestic or personal service,—coachmen, gardeners, hostlers, waiters, hotel employees, and the like. The women are recruited almost entirely from this latter class. The writer has visited several of the offices, and in every case has been forcibly impressed by this fact. In so far the expectations of the friends of the offices have been disappointed, for they had hoped to see them used less by domestic servants and more largely by skilled artisans and mechanics.

The public employment offices in this country do not seem to have encountered any opposition* due to industrial disputes, such as has made their success problematical in Germany. With the exception of the Illinois law, which forbids the offices furnishing employees during a strike, there is nothing in the various acts to regulate their administration under such circumstances. As a matter of fact, the management of the various offices has differed in this respect, even within a single State.† While the representatives of organized labor are, on the whole, in favor of the free public employment offices, they are unanimous in insisting that they shall be held entirely neutral during labor disputes. In the event of strikes they should not be permitted to furnish men to fill the place of strikers, and in case of disputes as to wages they should not attempt to provide employees at

* Except in Grand Rapids, as stated above.

† Thus, in Ohio, the Dayton office sends men to fill the place of strikers. The others do not.

a lower rate of wage than that for which contention is being made. It was feared that the insistence upon references would militate against the offices among the working people by introducing the hated "character-note"; but so far little objection has been met on that score. Yet one of the first essentials for the success of such offices lies in the selection of the applicants. Without such selection employers will not, as a rule, use them. And thus, as to the general outlook for the free offices, the following paragraph from the exhaustive report of the English Department of Labor on "Agencies and Methods for Dealing with the Unemployed" will apply equally to the United States:—

With the best of conditions, labor bureaus can hardly be expected to become the sole or principal means of bringing together employers and unemployed. The bulk of the work of hiring labor and seeking employment will, in most trades, continue to be done directly between workmen and employers, as is the case where, as in France, the system of bureaus has been carried much further than in the United Kingdom. Nor as regards the organized trades can labor bureaus, as a rule, compare in utility, so far as workmen are concerned, with the work of a well-managed trade society. The chief field of usefulness of labor bureaus is likely, therefore, to be found for some time to come in the less highly organized trades.

II. GERMANY.

Before proceeding to consider the comparatively recent movement for establishing free public employment offices in Germany, it will be instructive to glance at various other agencies which have been resorted to there. These may be divided into at least four groups,—private pay agencies, philanthropic employment offices, and agencies conducted by associations of employers or unions of workmen.

In spite of the rapid growth in number of the free

offices, within the last decade especially, the private employment agencies are probably still in the majority; and in certain occupations they exercise almost a monopoly. They are made use of particularly for domestic servants, employees in mercantile establishments, hotels and restaurants, farm laborers, sailors, actors.* Though evils are complained of in connection with these offices, they are apparently not so great as in the United States, since all employment agencies are placed under police control by imperial law, and are made to pay a license fee. According to a statistical investigation carried out in Prussia in 1895, the number of such agencies in that kingdom alone was 5,216. During the year 1894 these 5,000 agencies had received 535,020 applications for employment, 481,358 applications for help, and had secured 381,206 positions.†

Under philanthropic employment offices we may include those conducted by religious societies, charitable organizations, communal or police officials, the lodging-houses (*Herberge*) of various societies, the relief stations (*Naturalverpflegungsstationen*), and the like. Together these form a perfect network of agencies throughout the empire for the purpose of securing work for the unemployed; but, inasmuch as they deal largely with the shiftless and incapable classes and those who do not wish to secure situations, the statistical results of their work are not very favorable. Since, however, they are free employment offices, no charge being made, and are also in large part public (in that they are either connected with public institutions or aided by public funds), it will be advisable to consider them briefly.

Most of these agencies are connected with the various institutions established for dealing with and suppressing

* V. Weigert, *Arbeitsnachweis und Schutz der Arbeitswilligen*, Berlin, 1899, p. 2.

† *Zeitschrift des königlichen preussischen statistischen Bureaus, Jahrgang 36*, 1896, pp. 7-11.

vagrancy.* The Anti-begging Societies (*Vereine gegen Armennot und Bettelei*), which are organized in all towns and cities throughout Germany, discourage the giving of alms and require their members to refer all applicants to the office of the society. With this an employment bureau is connected, and an attempt is immediately made to secure work for the applicant. The society further provides a relief station (*Verpflegungsstation*), where by a few hours' work the destitute wayfarer can earn a ticket which will entitle him to food and lodging at the lodging-house (*Herberge*). If no work can be found for him in this locality, he is next day given a card to the next *Herberge*, where he must report that afternoon, and there in turn make application for work. If he wanders from the route which he has chosen, he is liable to arrest as a vagrant. The Anti-begging Societies are supported entirely by private subscriptions; but practically the same work is done by the public authorities in most of the German States by the establishment of public stations giving relief in kind (*Naturalverpflegungsstationen*). Of 1,957 such stations maintained in Germany in 1890, 1,707 were maintained by public authority, and 250 by societies. Similar work is also done by the German Lodging-house Society (*Deutscher Herbergsverein*), which has established in all the States a number of lodging-houses for wayfarers in search of employment, the institutions being maintained largely by provincial or local societies. These various relief stations and lodging-houses, together with the labor colonies, have succeeded in legitimatizing the movements of a class which without them would become mere vagrants. They have therefore reduced the number of arrests for vagabondage,† but do not seem to have contributed in any permanent way towards solving the

* *Vagrancy and Public Charities in Foreign Countries*, Special Consular Report, Washington, 1893, pp. 293, 305, 320, 329, 340.

† In Prussia the number decreased from 23,808 in 1882 (no stations) to 8,605 in 1890 (951 stations).

problem of the unemployed by securing employment for them.

The establishment of employment offices has also been fostered by the various trade organizations, both those conducted by the employers and those managed by the laborers. While at first their creation seems to have been inspired only by the motive of adjusting the labor supply and demand, of later years they have been used extensively by both sides as a *Kampfmittel* in the struggle between labor and capital. As this movement has led to the establishment of offices by a variety of organizations, it will be necessary to consider these separately.

(1) Following the example of the early guilds, the modern *Innungen* have also endeavored to secure employment and help within their respective trades by undertaking the duties of employment offices. Though in the main they comprise only a small portion of the members of the various trades, still a few of them, as the barber guild, are of national importance. The possibility of an extension of this side of their activity was afforded them by a provision in the industrial code of July 26, 1897,* according to which the establishment of employment offices is expressly enumerated among the privileges of the guilds. It is unlikely, however, that they will assume any greater importance in the future, as they are managed largely in the interest of the employers, and seem to be losing ground. They have gained a stronger foothold in northern Germany than in the south. In Prussia 734 such employment offices were reported for the year 1894, of which 642 made no charge. Most of the others charged only a nominal fee. These offices further reported for the same year 121,342 applications for employment, 54,614 applications for help, and 47,093 positions secured.

(2) Employers' organizations (*Gewerbe- or Fabrikanten-*

* *Gewerbeordnung*, §§ 81 a, 88, etc. Quoted by H. Eckert, *Die beste Organisation des Arbeitsnachweises*, p. 6.

vereine). Towards the end of the eighties the employers of labor began to unite with the avowed purpose of opposing the socialistically inclined laborers' organizations. One of the principal means used by the newly formed unions as well as the older ones was the establishment of employment offices, "which should be managed exclusively by employers, and whose members should pledge themselves to obtain labor only through these offices." * The alliance of master-masons and carpenters and the association of metal-workers were the first larger organizations of employers to adopt this rule, as well as the further one "to employ no laborer who belonged to any social-democratic association." This attitude, it is needless to say, does not commend their employment offices to the mass of laborers, nor indicate that they are managed in an impartial manner. Such agencies have been created, in addition to those of the metal-workers and masons and carpenters, by the smiths, book-binders, paper-hangers, painters, cabinet-makers, and potters. They exist also in the textile industries and in the building trades.† Of such organizations some thirty conducted employment offices in Prussia in 1894, of which about half the number charged a fee. These offices reported 34,873 applications for employment, 17,400 applications for help, and 16,910 positions secured. In addition to the organizations of manufacturers the agrarian unions have in many instances established employment bureaus, of which sixteen were reported in Prussia. These received during 1894 3,759 applications for employment, 2,612 applications for help, and filled 1,629 positions.

(3) Workingmen's organizations (*Fach-* or *Gewerkvereine*). Since the founding of the Hirsch-Duncker trade unions, which made the employment feature an important part of their work, many of the workingmen's organizations have established employment offices. As

* Weigert, *loc. cit.*, p. 6.

† Richard Calwer, *Arbeitsmarkt und Arbeitsnachweis*, Stuttgart, 1899, p. 44.

a rule, however, they have not attained a position of importance, being necessarily conducted at a disadvantage, usually open in the evenings only, and administered by the secretary or other official of the union in connection with other duties. Unfortunately, their management has often exposed them to the same charges of partiality of which the workingmen are ready enough to accuse the employers' offices. Not infrequently, too, the offices have been used as a weapon in the struggle against the employing class, as in the case of the Berlin beer boycott of 1896. This boycott, which had assumed immense and ominous proportions, was finally settled by the establishment of a joint employment office, conducted by a joint committee of employers and employees. Of offices managed by the workingmen alone, there existed in Prussia during 1894 about 300, of which only 230 made reports. These 230 offices received 76,046 applications for employment, 32,968 applications for help, and secured positions for 26,760 persons.

(4) A small number of employment offices have been established which are managed jointly by representatives of employers' and laborers' organizations. They have been called into being largely by the efforts of some more liberal-minded employers, who have desired to avoid the unfairness of those offices managed exclusively by employers or by employees; and they have been fairly well received by the laboring men. They were opposed, however, by the Employers' Conference at Leipzig, in 1898, and have not obtained any great prominence, especially as the growth of public bureaus has rendered them to a large extent unnecessary. They are especially prevalent in mercantile circles. In Prussia, 60 such offices were reported, of which only 46 made returns. During 1894 these received 58,584 applications for employment, 33,153 applications for help, and furnished 23,129 positions. About half of these offices required the payment of a fee, ranging from \$1.25 to \$5.

Although many — in fact, most — of the employment agencies which have already been mentioned are free, and are in the main open to all applicants, they are not public in the sense of being supported by public funds. The movement for the establishment of free public employment offices, either communal or municipal, has grown rapidly in the last few years; and at present such offices are maintained in most of the principal cities and towns in Germany. The first such agency seems to have been established at Freiburg i. B. in May, 1892, by the joint action of the organizations of employers and the labor unions; but it did not come under municipal management and control until 1897. The real impetus to the movement, however, was given in the autumn of 1893 by a report of the Stuttgart Trade Council (*Gewerbegericht*), which strongly advocated the establishment of a municipal employment bureau in that city. Although the plan was not carried out at the time, it met with the warmest approval the following year at the meeting of the Social Congress at Frankfort a. M. where it was advocated both by workingmen and capitalists. The plan suggested there formed the basis of the various municipal offices, which sprang up in rapid succession in all parts of the empire. In South Germany, especially, the movement met with success. In Würtemberg, Bavaria, Hesse, Baden, and Prussia one city after another proceeded with the establishment of public bureaus. It is impossible to say how many such offices exist at present in Germany, as no authoritative list has been published and the number is large and steadily growing. Dr. Freund, superintendent of the Invalid and Old Age Pension Office at Berlin, estimated the number in 1899 at about 114.*

The fundamental principle of the public offices is equal representation: employers and employees are both represented in the management in equal proportion and with

* Freund, *Arbeitsnachweise*, Berlin, 1899, p. 13.

equal powers. In general, the administration is connected with the Trade Council (*Gewerbegericht*), and a city official is the chairman of the governing board. These offices are, of course, free to all applicants of any trade or occupation. The organization and administration of the Munich office—which is admittedly the best managed and which has served as a model for many of the others—will serve to illustrate the general features common to them all.* The ultimate oversight of this office resides in the city magistrate; but its immediate control rests in the hands of an elective board of seven, of whom three are employers and three employees, the chairman of the Trade Council being *ex-officio* chairman of the board. The office has a men's division, where three assistants are employed, and a women's division, where there are also three assistants. It receives applications for every sort of employment, and during the year 1898 secured positions for over 32,000 persons. The total expenses of the office, which are borne by the city of Munich, amounted to only about \$3,650, of which \$500 went to rent. The work of the office is administered with typical German thoroughness. Applicants for employment are divided into classes, according to occupation,—32 classes for men, 10 for women, each class having a separate and detailed list. Every applicant is required to fill out a statistical blank, giving occupation, name and so on, and is given a card with his number. If a suitable position is open, he is sent immediately or notified by post to go to the prospective employer, to whom he hands a postal card addressed to the employment bureau, which legitimatizes him and which the employer is supposed to fill out and send back. The applicant is also required to report the result of his application to the bureau. By this system and by frequent use of the post the bureau seems to have been suc-

* *Die Einrichtung von Arbeitsnachweisen und Arbeitsnachweis-Verbänden. Verhandlungen der ersten deutschen Arbeitsnachweis-Konferenz, Karlsruhe, 1897, hrsg. von J. Jastrow, Berlin, 1898, p. 42.*

cessful in keeping track of all positions filled. Owing to the German system of police oversight and particularly the compulsory use by domestic servants of registration books in which their places and terms of service are all noted, less time is devoted to looking up references than in similar bureaus in the United States. The name of an applicant is kept on the books as long as two months. After the expiration of that period the application must be renewed.

Although the Munich office was not established until 1895, it has served as a model for most of the later offices, much as the Ohio agencies have in this country. In the smaller towns the administration is, of course, much more simple and direct. The development of the separate offices had not proceeded very far, however, before the need was felt of a more centralized system, by means of which the various offices could be brought into closer touch with one another. The matter was first agitated by the Würtemberg government, and soon after by Bavaria, Baden, Hesse, and Prussia; and, although the movement is as yet only in the experimental stage, it has been fairly well developed in these States. In Baden, for instance, reports are sent in by the other offices to the Karlsruhe office, which acts as a central clearing house, and sends out again immediately the reports of each office to every other office. Each office is then in a position to send applicants to fill openings in other places or to request help from the district where there is a surplus. In Würtemberg the Stuttgart office acts as the central agent, and sends out reports of all vacancies twice a week, not only to all the other employment offices, but to every town of more than 3,000 inhabitants, and to all institutions which maintain employment features. In Düsseldorf a slightly different method is used. Instead of letting one of the employment offices act as clearing house for the others, an independent central bureau has been established, whose

sole duty it is to act as agent between the various offices. Some sort of centralized system has been found so necessary for the best results that a closer union between the different States has been advocated by means of the establishment of an imperial central bureau. While such a move is very unlikely in the near future, the necessary bond of union has been created by the formation (February 4, 1898) of the "Association of German Employment Offices," whose first meeting was held in Munich in September, 1898. Its object is the creation of a deeper interest in the work and establishment of employment offices, and to secure the collection of uniform statistics.* At the time of its formation 68 bureaus were enrolled as members, of which 30 were municipal, 8 provincial, and the rest philanthropic and private free instructions. A monthly journal, *Der Arbeitsmarkt*, has also been published in Berlin by Dr. Jastrow, who seeks to tabulate and utilize these statistics to determine accurately the fluctuations of the labor market.

The majority of the public employment offices in Germany are municipal; but many of them are aided by the State, especially in South Germany. Frequently, too, grants have been made by State, province, or municipality to employment offices maintained by joint boards of employers and employees; while no attempts have been made to share in the administration. In fact, like so many of the German social reform movements, the initiative and support for this one seems to have come largely from the government.

It is difficult to say what the attitude of the labor unions or their members is towards the public employment offices, as opinions in these circles are widely divided.† Those workingmen who see in the agencies only a

* The stenographic report of the proceedings of this meeting has been published as a supplement to No. 11 of *Soziale Praxis*, and also separately as *Schriften des Verbandes deutscher Arbeitsnachweise*, No. 1. Berlin, 1899.

† Calwer, *loc. cit.*, p. 7.

weapon in the struggle with capital oppose their establishment, as they fear that they will be used to their disadvantage. And, in fact, the tone of the discussion in the Munich Conference on the subject of "What can the Employment Bureaus do to secure Laborers for the Agricultural Districts?" seemed to lend color to that idea.* On the other hand, the attitude of the organized employers is also largely hostile to the extension of the public offices.† It is only fair to say, however, that extreme opposition is not often shown except by the agrarian members.

One of the most disputed points and one which was most strongly insisted on by the labor unions at the beginning of the movement for public employment offices was the attitude of the office during a strike. The unions demanded that no help should be furnished to an establishment or industry while a strike was in progress. This more extreme position has not been strictly adhered to, and at a preliminary conference held at Karlsruhe in 1897 the representatives of the labor unions declared that they would be satisfied to have the offices continue their activity during a strike if the officials would only acquaint all applicants with the fact that a strike was in progress.‡ Among the different offices the practice varies in this regard. In Stuttgart the office continues its work without interruption; in Strassburg the governing commission decides whether to stop or not; the same is true of Mainz, Trier, and a number of other cities; Cologne discontinues the work of the office during a strike; in Breslau and Frankfort a. M. no rules for the conduct of the offices at such a time have been formulated. It may safely be said that the fear on this point was largely groundless, and that it makes no practical difference as to the outcome of

* *Verhandlungen der Münchener Konferenz*, p. 6, ff.

† Weigert, *loc. cit.*, p. 33.

‡ *Verhandlungen der Karlsruhe Konferenz*, p. 69.

a strike whether the employment office ceases its activities or not. So many other factors enter that the existence of such an agency and its attitude can have very little effect one way or the other.

In spite of some antagonisms and difficulties at first, the German free public employment offices have met with decided success. Their number has grown from a dozen in 1894 to over one hundred in 1899, while the extent of their activity has more than kept pace with their growth, in numbers. The positions secured for applicants numbered about 190,000 in 1896 in all the "free" bureaus, while by 1898 they amounted to over 250,000.* One noticeable fact is shown by the statistics of the German agencies, which points to a high degree of success,—the relatively small number of women applicants. Of the men for whom positions were secured, by far the larger part belonged of course to the class of unskilled labor; but the more skilled trades and occupations were also well represented.

It will at once be seen that, though the movement is a more recent one, it has proceeded farther in Germany than in the United States, and has met with a much greater degree of success. Aside from the undoubted advantages which the German offices possess in the concentration of the population and the smallness of the area that they have to deal with, there seems to be no doubt that such institutions find a more favorable reception on the continent of Europe than in this country. The differences in industrial conditions, indeed, are so great that probably little is to be learned from German experience which will materially aid us in the United States in solving the problem of finding work for the unemployed by means of free employment offices.

E. L. BOGART.

INDIANA UNIVERSITY.

* Weigert, *loc. cit.*, pp. 70-75; Jastrow, in *Arbeitsmarkt*, 1898.